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WOOD'S MANIFESTO:

AN ADDRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS.

By S. N. WOOD,

Delivered at Herrington, Kansas,
April 29, 1891.

Every man in the state should read it. Members of the legislature should distribute large numbers of it, as it contains a complete history of the legislature.

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ADDRESS

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Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Permit me to say, in the commencement, that I am not here to abuse or vilify anyone; abuse and vilification are not argument. I leave all this to our opponents. Those who cannot answer my arguments, however, are at liberty to use their old arguments of abuse and vilification. I shall not abuse or vilify either of the old parties. I recognize what these parties were in their better days; I know of their great achievements, and I would not take from them one of their laurels if I could. Old issues are of the past. Forget, if you can, that you have been Republicans or Democrats, and with me, for a short time, study politics or the science of government from a non-partisan standpoint. Thomas Jefferson was the first Democratic President. He was a man of the people. In his inaugural address, when he took the oath of office as President, speaking of what constituted a good government, he said: "One thing more, gentlemen—a frugal government, one that shall restrain men from injuring each other, but shall leave them otherwise free to exercise their own pursuits of industry, and which shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned." Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President, in his first annual message, declared that "Labor deserves more consideration than capital." Because, as he said, "Capital is the product of labor, and without labor it would never have existed." Professor Amasa Walker, a writer of the old school, in his work entitled "The Science of Wealth," says that "If there is more labor than there is capital to employ labor, that labor will be in competition and the price of labor will come down; but if there is more capital than labor, that capital will go to waste. But if either must be the beggar it should be capital, and not labor, for the reason that capital is the savings of labor, and without labor it never would have existed."

If I vote a ticket simply because it is headed Republican or Democratic, I am voting a prejudice, or an issue of the past. I am not taking sides upon any issue of the present or the future. You know our interests are all the same. Yet here are two farmers, two merchants, two business men—one a Republican, the other a Democrat. Why is this? Their interests are identical. The people are now studying politics as they never studied it before; studying political economy from a non-partisan standpoint, which will eventually bring us to the same platform. The People's party last fall built their platform upon the principles of Jefferson and Lincoln. Labor was its foundation. "Labor," they said, "is the beginning of progress, the commencement of the world." The result of the election, for the first time in our history, placed the house of representatives under the control of men opposed to the Republican party. The house had ninety-four People's party members, twenty-four Republicans, and seven Democrats. The senate elected two years ago had thirty-seven Republicans, two People's party, and one Democrat. The People's party members of the house were men without legislative experience, but honest and sober. I never saw a better lot of men, or men who were more honest in purpose or anxious to do right and legislate to lighten the burdens of the people. In the house, among the Republican minority, were some of the best-trained politicians of the state — men of legislative experience and good parliamentarians. This gave them a great advantage over our new members, men, as I have said, without legislative experience. The Republicans did most of the talking, but the People's party members did the voting.

Honest themselves, it was their misfortune to believe their opponents honest also. Should these men be re-elected and be returned as members of another legislature, which I hope each and every one will, they will be worth one hundred times as much to their constituents and the state as they were last winter. Some of the Republicans in the house I could name, such as Webb, Douglas, Hopkins, Rice, and others, worked with the People's party for the benefit of the people of the state. In the senate, out of forty members, thirty-seven were the cream of the Republican party—men of ability and large legislative experience; men profound in the law. There was the venerable Thomas A. Osborn, twice Governor of our state, Minister to Chili and Brazil; "Billy Buchan," the chairman of the Republican state committee and the wheel-horse of the Republican party; Frank Gillett, the young Goliah of the southwest; Hon. H. B. Kelley, of McPherson, the ablest of them all ("WILL ADMIT IT HIMSELF"), all candidates-at-large for Congress in 1892. In fact, the senate contained thirty-seven of the ablest men in the Republican party — men whose word in the party is law. Since our admission as a state in 1861, thirty years ago, this state has been unanimously Republican. For its legislation, whether good or bad, the Republican party must be held responsible. With it is the honor or the odium of our legislative history. In 1861 we had a ninety days' session of the legislature, and put the whole machinery of the state government in operation. The entire appropriation that year was only $84,821. In 1871, ten years after, it reached $329,293.42. In 1861, with the best Governor Kansas ever had, I find that the appropriation for the Executive Department was $4,153. Of this the Governor got $2,000; his private secretary, $600; office rent, $200; Secret Service, $1,000; Adjutant-General's Department, $600; Secretary of State Department, $2,500; Legislative Department, $48,578; Treasurer's Department, $1,900; Attorney-General's Department, $1,000; Auditor's Department, $2,500; Superintendent Public Instruction, $1,700; Judiciary, $12,300; miscellaneous, $8,967.93. In 1889, the last two years of Republican rule, the appropriations were $2,657,511.56. The deficiencies amounted to over $350,000 more, making the total expenses of the state for the two fiscal years 1890 and 1891, in round numbers, over $3,100,000; over $3.50 per capita, compared with thirty-three cents per capita in 1861. Our population in 1861 was 160,000. Our population has increased nine times that of 1861, and our expenses for the year ending June 20, 1889, were eighteen times that of 1861. It was reasonable to expect that with an increase of population and taxable property that taxation would be reduced, but the opposite has been the result. Population and taxable wealth have not increased, as will be seen, with our expenses. Our Republican law-makers seemed to have run wild. The governor's department in 1865, the first year after the war, was $5,421.45. In 1890, the last year of Republican rule, it was $15,900.

Fifty thousand dollars was asked for last winter for the World's Fair at Chicago. One said that state pride demanded it, forgetting that Solomon had said: "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." Another said, it was "to advertise our state and induce immigration to come here." If increased wealth and population brought a corresponding decrease in our taxes, there might be some argument in this scheme. But the history of our state is, the more population and wealth we have the greater our taxes. With $24,737,450 in taxable property in 1861, our expenses were 33 cents per capita, or, as I have said, amounting to $84,821. In 1889 our taxable property reached $348,000,000, and our expenses $1,600,000. Senator Buchan, in his manifesto, in accounting for the rapid increase of our expenses, said: "Since 1876, we find the growth of the state and the demands of the people have required the establishment and maintenance of the following institutions and departments of the state government, which have been supported

out of the *moderate* increase of appropriations for institutions and departments created since 1876: Asylum for Idiotic and Imbecile Youth at Winfield, Soldier's Orphans' Home at Atchison, State Soldiers' Home at Dodge City, State Reformatory at Hutchinson, Industrial School for Girls at Beloit, Reform School for Boys at Topeka, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Forestry Commission, State Board of Health, State House Commission, Oil Inspector, Mine Inspector, Live Stock Sanitary Commission, State Veterinarian, Supreme Court Commission, Board of Pardons, Silk Commission, Adjutant-General and National Guard, Railroad Commission, Police Commissioners, State Board of Pharmacy, State Horticultural Society. The number of district judges in 1876, fifteen; number of district judges in 1890, thirty-seven."

The above looks like paternalism or nationalism run wild. It is a principle of taxation, as laid down by text writers, that it must be for a public purpose, and its benefits brought home to the whole people. Apply this test to some of the institutions and departments above named:

The State Reformatory at Hutchinson stands there as a monument of the folly and extravagance of the Republican party. The Industrial School for Girls at Beloit, of course, is a high school for the girls at Beloit, and not for the state. Bureau of Labor Statistics is of no manner of use to any one, except to create more offices at the expense of the people. Oil Inspector, Mine Inspector, Live Stock Sanitary Commission, State Veterinarian, Board of Pardons, Silk Commission, Adjutant-General and National Guard, Police Commissioners, State Board of Pharmacy and State Horticultural Society are all without any value or practical benefit to the state except to answer the clamors of place hunters. We are told that in 1876 we had fifteen district judges, now thirty-seven. This increase of judges and courts ought to forever damn the party responsible for the same. I know district judges in this state who have not three weeks of honest work in a year. Judge Crosier has a district consisting of Leavenworth, Jefferson, and Jackson counties, and is up with his work. Make twenty other districts with the same population, and you occupy the whole state, showing that we have sixteen judges, costing the state $40,000 a year; that the office should be abolished. They are all useless expenditures of the people's money. Senator Buchan says "the State Board of Agriculture reports cost $58,000 a year," and asks "if the farmers of the state would do without them." In answer, let me say that not one farmer in one hundred ever sees one. They go to the politicians, and not to the farmers. The fact is, that the Agricultural Society, as well as their report, so far as the farmers are concerned, is an arrant humbug. Why did not Senator Buchan account for the fact that the senate employes, with only forty senators, cost over $20,000, while the house employes, with their 125 members, cost less than one-half? Why was it that it cost $4,445 to enroll the senate bills, and only $3,015 the house bills, containing double the number of pages of senate bills?

The Normal School, at Emporia, is again assuming university airs, and should be confined to its legitimate work of training teachers for their work. It is not necessary that teachers should understand the "dead languages" to be able to teach in the common schools of Kansas. I learn from their report that students are now paid their traveling expenses by the state, in going to and from this institution. Next, I suppose, their *board* and *washing* will be paid.

The Agricultural College, at Manhattan, should be confined to its legitimate work. The agricultural farm should be an experimental station, with monthly reports of results sent to the whole people. The university is now spending $85,000 a year, about $170 for each student. Seventy-five thousand dollars a year is appropriated in a lump, to use as the regents please, and the result is a law department, where lawyers are being

made at the public expense. Next, we shall have a medical department; in fact, the Chancellor advised this in his last report. Why not a theological department? The taxpayers of this State, 99 out of 100 of whose children must content themselves with a common-school education, will sooner or later tire of being taxed to teach the children of the rich the "dead languages," or any other language except the English, or to educate lawyers, doctors, and ministers. If the state would appropriate $1,000 a year to assist in a county high school in each county, on condition that one is supported nine months in the year, would it not be better for the state, as it would then bring this higher education home to every family?

Our opponents seem desirous of instituting comparisons between the actions of the house and senate last winter. That the house did not accomplish what some expected of them, and what would have been accomplished with a senate and executive acting in harmony with them, I admit. Appropriations had to be made, under existing laws; it was not in the power of one house to repeal these laws without the consent of the other. Salaries of all the public officers of the state were fixed by statute, and could not be changed except by legislative action of the two houses. It has been said that the reduction in appropriations were "principally of those who labor." These were the only ones where reductions could be made without a change of the laws; and even with these reductions, I have not heard but the supply of men and women for these positions is fully equal to the demand.

Let us compare the appropriations of last winter with the appropriations for the year ending June 30th, 1889, which were $1,697,140.95; ending June 30th, 1890, $1,406,012.99, making a total in two years of $3,103,153.94. Senator Buchan states that the appropriation for 1890 was $1,406,014.99; ending June 30th, 1891, $1,251,494.57. Total in these two years of $2,657,511.56. To this must be added a deficiency of over $350,000, expenses incurred where no appropriations were made by the legislature two years ago, making the expenses for the last two years of Republican rule $3,007,511.56. The appropriation made by the legislature last winter, for the year ending June 30th, 1892, is $1,264,132.31; for the year ending June 30th, 1893, $1,125,497.52, a total of $2,389,631.83, a reduction of $617,879.73. These statements are from the official records, and are true. I find by examination of the Auditor's report that from June 30th, 1888, to July 1st, 1890, there was paid out for public printing $227,542.85. This was for two years. For the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1889, in one year there was paid out $154,872.89; for the year ending June 30th, 1890, $72,669.96; for the year ending June 30th, 1891, $131,000; a total for the last two years of $203,669.96. The appropriation for the next two years, by the late legislature, was $153,000; a saving in two years of $50,669.96. With the restrictions thrown around the work, the state printing is not likely to exceed the appropriations; and yet, as Senator Buchan puts it, "the state is increasing in population and wealth." The People's party house, however, succeeded in saving many thousands to the taxpayers of the state.

The People's party last fall, in their platform, said:

"*First.* We demand the abolition of national banks, and the substitution of legal tender treasury notes, in lieu of national bank notes, issued in sufficient volume to do the business of the country on a cash system, regulating the amount needed on a per capita basis, as the business of the country expands; and that all money issued by the Government shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, both public and private.

"*Second.* We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

"*Third.* We demand that Congress shall pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the dealing in futures, in all agricultural and mechanical productions.

"*Fourth.* We demand the passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land.

"*Fifth.* We demand that taxation, national or state, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another. We demand that all revenues, national, state and county, shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

"*Sixth.* We demand that the means of communication and transportation shall be owned by and operated in the interests of the people, as is the United States postal system.

"*Seventh.* We demand such legislation as shall effectually prevent the extortion of usurious interest by any form or evasion or statutory provisions.

"*Eighth.* We demand such legislation as will provide for a reasonable stay of execution, in all cases, of foreclosures of mortgages on real estate, and a reasonable extension of time before the confirmation of sheriff's sales.

"*Ninth.* We demand such legislation as will effectually prevent the organization of trusts and combines for the purpose of speculation in any of the products of labor or the necessities of life, or the transportation of the same.

"*Tenth.* We demand the adjustment of salaries of public officials to correspond with existing financial conditions, the wages paid to other forms of labor, and the prevailing prices of the products of labor.

"*Eleventh.* We demand the adoption of the Australian system of voting.

"*Twelfth.* Labor is the beginning of progress, the formation of the world, and the laborer is entitled to a good living, and a fair share of the profits which result from his labor. The use of labor-saving machinery should shorten the hours of toil, and enure to the benefit of the employed equally with the employer."

Upon this platform the People's party secured control of the house. We will see, in a moment, how well they carried into legislation their pledges.

The Republicans, not to be outdone, also adopted a platform. It was made up largely with a *history of the past*, instead of issues of the present or future. I was glad to learn from it that the rebellion had been put down, slavery abolished, and a homestead law passed. This, I have no doubt, was news to many of the Republicans of the state, and they relied upon this dead issue.

The Republican platform said:

"We favor such other legislation as may be necessary to insure an increase of the volume of currency, adequate to the growing demand of our trade, the volume of such currency to be regulated by the necessities of business. We are in favor of uniformity in text books in all the schools of the state, and demand such legislation as shall procure, by contract or otherwise, the best standard books at the least possible cost. We are in favor of electing railroad commissioners by a vote of the people, and we demand of the next legislature that they confer upon the board of railroad commissioners ample power to regulate freight and passenger rates. We are opposed to the system of free passes on railroads now in vogue in this state, by reason of which every railroad company is expected, as a matter of courtesy, to compliment all state officers, members of the legislature, judges and other public officers with free transportation over their respective lines, and we favor the suppression of this practice by proper legislation. We are in favor of legislation prohibiting the employment of children under the age of fourteen years in mines, factories, work-shops, or mercantile establishments.

"The next legislature should so amend the laws relating to foreclosure and sale of real estate, under mortgage contract, as shall secure to the mortgagor the privilege of redeeming such real estate at any time within twelve months from date of such foreclosure sale, by the payment of the judgment and of legal interest from date of sale to date of redemption."

Let us see how well the Republican senate fulfilled these pledges made to the people. I undertake to say that not one law was passed by the senate pledged to the people in this platform. There was as much in this platform calculated to injure the credit of the state as in that of the Peoples'. The fact is, there was nothing in either that should have injured our credit. The injury to the credit of the state was not in the platforms, but in the *misrepresentations of the republican press of this state*, who sent out false reports as to what the Alliance was going to do. The senate, in the start, undertook to exceed the house in reform legislation in the interests of the people. They went back on their intentions, however; as I said, not one pledge of their platform was redeemed. I am aware that the Republican press has charged that the senate passed a stay of execution law for two years, and that the house had defeated it. Now, what are the facts? The house early in its session passed a new mortgage law, introduced by the judiciary committee, providing a cheap mode of foreclosure, to cost not exceeding $10, with an "equity of redemption" of two years, during which time the mortgagor was to retain possession. This law was made as fair as possible to the money loaners, in order to induce the holders of the millions of mortgages upon the farms of Kansas to extend the time, take new mortgages, and

thus enable our people, with an increased volume of currency, to pay their debts and avoid universal bankruptcy. This bill was passed almost unanimously in the house, went to the senate, was amended, discussed and defeated, afterwards reconsidered, and all after the enacting clause stricken out and the following inserted :

"No execution shall issue on any judgment for foreclosure until the expiration of two years from the time of rendition of judgment, in all cases wherein the costs of such action shall be paid within six months, and the interest on the judgment shall be paid semi-annually, and also the taxes; nothing in this act shall apply to proceedings in foreclosure of mortgages where the property has been abandoned nor to mortgages *heretofore executed.*"

What a relief it would have been, thus amended, to our mortgage-ridden people! It passed and was sent to the house. It was an insult to the intellgent farmers of the state. It was by the house referred to the judiciary committee, who in fifteen minutes reported it back with the following amendments (see Journal, March 11th, page 41):

"MR. SPEAKER: The judiciary committee, to whom house bill No. 540, as amended by the senate, was this day referred, would respectfully report that your committee has considered the amendment transmitted to this house from the senate, and recommend that the same be amended as follows:

"*First.* Strike out in lines five and six, in section one, the words, 'In all cases wherein the costs of such action shall be paid within six months from the rendition of such judgment.'

"*Second.* Strike out in line eleven of said section first the words, 'any part of costs remaining unpaid or.'

"*Third.* Strike out in last line of said section one the words, 'Nor to mortgages heretofore executed."

"And your committee further recommend that said senate amendments be further amended by adding thereto the following, to stand as section two:

"SECTION 2. Any provisions in any mortgage, or other evidence of indebtedness, containing the words 'appraisement waived,' or other equivalent terms, shall be null and void; and all laws and parts of laws in conflict therewith are hereby repealed: *Provided*, That where real property hereafter sold in any foreclosure proceeding shall be purchased by the plaintiff in the action, the sheriff shall be entitled to his fees, but he shall not be entitled to any commission on the amount bid at sale: *And provided further*, That whenever the plaintiff in any foreclosure sale of real estate shall bid the full amount of the debt, interest and costs, the provisions of the law requiring the land to be sold to bring two-thirds of its appraised value shall be deemed to be fully complied with.

"And as so amended your committee recommend that said amendment be concurred in. J. S. DOOLITTLE, *Chairman.*"

The report was adopted and the law was unanimously passed; it was returned to the senate, and died in the arms of that august body. Comment is unnecessary. With this bill died the last pledge made by the Republican party in that platform to the people.

What is the record of that senate on the free coinage of silver, the increase of the volume of money, stay of execution, election of railroad commissioners by the people, prohibiting free passes, providing free school books to the state? I repeat, every pledge made in that platform to the people was a dead letter to the state senate, showing that "platforms are made to go in on, and not to stand on," or enter into the legislation of the state. The late Republican platform was made to deceive the people and catch votes.

Here is a little book. Its title is "The Report of the Senate Revision Committee." Its compilation by a senate committee cost the state $5,400, besides the printing. It contains 228 pages. It seems to have been "The substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen." One-half its expense was clerk hire, without a clerk. The whole work could have been better done for $500.

Just after the election last fall it was heralded all over the state that the bills that this committee had prepared and the reforms recommended by them were to "throw the Alliance in the shade." It was to exceed anything DREAMED of by the People's party. Will someone tell me which, if any, of these bills became laws. Excuse me; I recollect the senate did pass a bill reducing fees and salaries of county officers. The house amended and passed it, and sent it back to the senate. The lobby

of county officers reached the senate at the same time the bill did, and the senate killed their own child by refusing to act on it; refusing to concur or non-concur in the house amendments, so it could go to a conference committee, the differences adjusted, and passed.

I have read the editorial in the Eldorado *Republican* as to the disposition of the bills reported by this "revision committee," and find that bill No. 1, an act in relation to state offices, etc., passed the senate, was sent to the house, and March 6th the senate recalled it, and, of course, strangled the little infant.

Bill No. 2 was an act to establish the salaries of the officers of both houses.

Bill No. 3, providing for a State Board of Public Works, passed both houses.

Bill No. 14, providing for a Fish Commissioner, passed the senate. It was killed in the house, and this expense was saved to the state.

Bill No. 16, state agent at Washington on a large salary, passed the senate, was killed in the house, and this expense saved to the state.

Bill No. 20 was the county officers' bill, already alluded to, and died in the senate.

Bills Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25 never reached the house, and died in the senate in the arms of their godfather, the "senate revision committee;" and thus ended the senate revision farce.

The following senate bills passed the house:

Relating to descents and distributions, amendatory to section 2609 of the General Statutes of 1889, and repealing section 2609.

Requiring moneys coming into the hands of county treasurers in certain counties to be deposited in banks.

Act amending section 4156, Statutes of 1889, relating to Code of Civil Procedure.

For the continuance and maintenance of forestry stations.

Act constituting eight hours a day's work for all workingmen employed by the state, county, city or township.

To amend sections 6771 to 6775 of the General Statutes of 1889, relating to stock.

Act relating to the taxation of corporations.

To provide revenue for the state.

Providing for a Board of Public Works, defining its duties, and providing penalties for the violation of this act, and repealing certain acts.

Act to regulate warehouses, the inspection, weighing, grading and handling of grain.

An act in regard to aliens, and to restrict their rights to acquire and hold real estate, and to provide for the disposition of lands now owned by non-resident aliens.

Relating to the sale of real estate for delinquent taxes in such counties as shall adopt the provisions of this act.

Senate joint resolution, recommending the calling of a convention to revise, amend or change the constitution of the State of Kansas.

Act prohibiting the editing, publishing, circulating, disseminating and selling of certain classes of newspapers and other publications.

Act prohibiting combinations, to prevent competition among persons engaged in buying and selling live stock, and to provide penalties therefor.

Not one of these laws was demanded in their platforms, excepting the alien ownership of land, which was as much a house as a senate bill; it was introduced in both houses at the same time. I challenge any senator to tell me of any bill passed by the senate in the interest of the people which was not promptly acted upon by the house. The fact is, that senate bills were considered by the house in place of house bills on

the same subject. The bill providing for a Kansas exhibit at the Columbian Exposition in 1893 was senate bill 286. It passed the senate. The house amended it, so that the house, fresh from the people, would elect three commissioners and the senate two. This bill the senate defeated rather than allow the three parties of this state to be represented on the board. At the last moment the house passed a resolution urging the senate to agree to these amendments, and save the bill and the honor of the state. This the senate refused to do, and they must take the responsibility. The bill was a good one, provided the Republicans could control the expenditure of the money, but if they could not control it, they had no use for the appropriation. It must be used for the benefit of the Republican party or not used at all.

The following house bills were concurred in by the senate, and are now a part of the laws of the state:

Act amending chapter 29 of the General Statutes of 1889, respecting probate courts.

Regulating the manner of assessment of benefits and damages in taking private property for public use, and change of grades of any streets or alleys in any cities having over thirty thousand.

Supplemental and amendatory of chapter 34 of the Laws of 1876, to provide for the assessment of taxes,

To amend section 1, chapter 168, of the Laws of 1889, to provide for and regulate the enforcement of liens for labor and materials.

To amend section 457, chapter 80, Statutes of 1886, relating to civil procedure.

Apportioning the State of Kansas into senatorial and representative districts.

Act to abolish survivorship in joint tenantcy.

An act to amend an act respecting probate courts, being chapter 29 of the General Statutes of 1889.

An act providing for and regulating the diversion and appropriation, storage and distribution of water for industrial purposes within prescribed limits, and of the construction and maintenance and operation of works therefor; providing for the creation of irrigation districts, having certain powers; fixing penalties for and assigning jurisdiction of offenses hereunder; defining the powers and duties of certain public officers and for other purposes.

Providing for the organization and regulation of banks.

The following in addition to the above are some of the important bills passed by the house, which the senate refused to pass or even consider:

Act prescribing penalties for accepting bribes.

Act to abolish the corrupt use of money and corrupt acts at elections.

Relating to continuances in district courts.

Prohibiting railroad companies from employing or using private armed detective forces during railroad strikes or other disturbances arising between such companies and their employes, and providing penalties for the violation thereof.

Relating to the redemption of lands sold for taxes, and amendatory to Tax Law of 1876, chapter 43, of Session Laws 1879.

Act with reference to the verdict of juries, and to amend section 286 of the Civil Procedure, being paragraph 4381 of the General Statutes of Kansas, 1889, doing away with special findings.

To repeal chapter 114, Laws of 1887, providing that counties and incorporated cities of the third class may subscribe stock in companies organized for the purpose of developing their natural resources.

To repeal chapter 242, Session Laws 1889, relating to aid in building sugar mills.

To protect counties, cities and townships against the illegal or fraudulent acts of their officers.

Act amendatory to the Civil Procedure in relation to the sale of real estate. This gave some relief to the people.

Making railroad companies and others operating railroads liable for the obstruction of streets and alleys in incorporated cities and towns and unincorporated villages.

To amend section 7, chapter 150, Laws of 1889, and to regulate the practice of pharmacy, sale of poisons, and punishment for the adulteration of drugs, and creating a board of pharmacy in the state of Kansas.

To prohibit subscription of stock or voting bonds for the construction of railroads.

Relating to railroads and certain liens thereon, and to determine the priority of such liens.

To provide for the weekly payment of wages in lawful money of the United States.

To amend sections 16 and 25, and chapter 131, Laws of 1885, entitled "An act to provide for the organization and control of mutual life insurance companies," approved March 7, 1885, and to repeal said sections.

To provide for printing and distributing ballots at the public expense and legal voting at state and city elections.

Act to secure uniformity in listing and taxation of bonds, notes and mortgages and other securities of indebtedness.

To amend section 8, chapter 93, Session Laws of 1871, being an act entitled "An act to establish an insurance department in the state of Kansas, and to regulate the companies doing business therein."

To regulate the rate of interest to be charged for the use of money, prohibiting usury, and providing penalties for the violation thereof, and repealing chapter 164 of the Laws of 1889, and approved March 1, 1889.

To provide for an inspector of hogs and cattle offered for sale at the stock yards located within the county of Wyandotte, defining his duties and tenure of office, and removing all restrictions in trade of hogs and cattle therein.

Limiting the power of counties, townships and cities to borrow money and create indebtedness.

Prohibiting private banks from doing business in any other than the individual name of the proprietors, and providing penalties for the violation thereof.

Relating to the liability of railroads from danger by fire, and amendatory to section 165, chapter 23, General Statutes of 1889.

Regulating crimes and punishments, and amendatory of section 107, chapter 31, General Statutes of 1886.

Relating to the jurisdiction of justices of the peace, and amendatory to section 1 of chapter 83, General Statutes of 1889, being paragraph 5433 therein.

Prohibiting waiver of appraisement and stay laws, and laws of procedure in suits for the collection of debts, and to repeal chapter 66 of the Session Laws of 1882.

Relating to the levy of annual school taxes in cities of the first class, and to the issuance of bonds by boards of education of such cities for certain purposes.

Prohibiting counties, townships and cities from voting aid except for building bridges, buildings and school-houses.

An act entitled "An act to provide for the destruction of weeds along the right-of-way of railroad crossings for stock, and making railroads liable for stock killed or damaged by the same.

To amend section 21, chapter 89, of the General Statutes of the State of Kansas.

Act requiring all public and private municipal corporations existing under the laws of the state to pay their employes their salaries and wages weekly in lawful money, and providing a penalty for the violation of this act.

To destroy election returns after the expiration of five years.

Conferring upon women the right to vote and hold office.

Requiring the cutting and destroying of weeds in public highways on the rights-of-way of railroad companies.

Act to abolish the State Board of Pardons.

To remove the political disabilities of a class of persons named.

An act to amend an act to establish a code of civil procedure. This would have reduced the work of the supreme court one-half.

Act for the prevention of lotteries.

Act amendatory to section 16 of the act passed at the session of 1868, providing for the maintenance and support of illegitimate children, printed as paragraph 3262 of the General Statutes of 1869.

Relating to mortgages and other liens upon real estate, providing for the enforcement thereof, and regulating the right of redemption thereof.

Authorizing the issuance of life certificates in the public schools by educational institutions chartered by the state.

To punish drunkenness in public offices by forfeiture of office.

Regulating the discharge of corporation employes, to prevent blacklisting of railroad employes, and to provide penalties for the violation thereof.

To provide joint rates over connecting lines of railroad in Kansas.

To authorize county treasurers of counties having less than twenty-five thousand inhabitants to deposit public moneys in a bank, or banks, in the counties, and to repeal chapter 189 of the Laws of 1889.

To provide for a uniform series of school books, by publication or otherwise, and for the distribution thereof; repealing any acts or portions thereof in conflict with this act. This bill, so manifestly just and proper, and in the interest of the people, the senate refused to pass.

There were forty-five of these bills, all told. These bills all died in the senate.

The People's party of the house voted for a bill appropriating $60,000 for the relief of the sufferers by the severe drought of last year, which was defeated in the senate. We had not forgotten that in the drought in Eastern Kansas in 1860, several Northern legislatures appropriated large sums of money for the relief of the people of Eastern Kansas, but when we passed a bill in the house for the same purpose, for the benefit of our own people, the senate discovers that all such legislation is unconstitutional. No matter if the people west of the one hundredth meridian should starve to death, it was unconstitutional to help them; but $50,000 for a big show or a big spree at Chicago two years hence was perfectly constitutional, if Republicans controlled the expenditures.

The house, early in its present session, passed a concurrent resolution asking Congress to abolish the national banks and to substitute legal tender treasury notes, to be issued in sufficient volume for the business of the country on a cash basis, regulating the amount per capita as population and the business interests of the country increased or expanded, and that all money issued by the Government should be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, and it was hoped that this resolution would be concurred in by the senate and sent to the United States Senate and House as the united wish of the legislature and of the people of the State of Kansas; but I regret to say that the senate, by a large majority, refused to concur in this resolution.

The house also declared themselves in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and asked the House of Representatives at Washington, largely Republican, to pass the senate bill in favor of free and unlimited coinage. This, I regret to say, was not done, and no relief has been afforded to the depressed business interests of the country by the Republican Congress which expired on the 4th of March last.

The Government has stopped the coinage of silver, or will absolutely

on the 1st of July next. Silver will go out of circulation, and silver certificates will take its place. These certificates are not a full legal tender. They will pass current as money with the people, but when debts are to be paid "bondholders," they will not pass. It's gold for the bondholders and the rich, silver certificates for the laboring people, with silver bullion mountain high idle in the treasury.

This silver bill of 1890 raises and settles another question. We have been told that "it's a step in the right direction." Perhaps it is, as it settles the power at least of the Government to receive on deposit one of the productions of the country in a Government "warehouse" and issue money in exchange. If one production can be thus deposited and money issued, why not all productions? If the silver bullion of Colorado, why not the wheat of Kansas or the cotton of the South? It seems to me this settles the question of power, and leaves this whole question one of policy. With this passing notice I leave it.

The house, after a careful examination, adopted virtually the Iowa rates of freights and fares on railroads, increasing them, however, nearly twenty per cent. over the Iowa railroad rates, with an average reduction of present Kansas rates of thirteen per cent. This bill also provided that no more should be charged for a short haul than a long one. It also provided for the election of railroad commissioners by a direct vote of the people, with power to fix and change freight rates as conditions required. I am sorry to say that the Republican senate failed to concur in the passage of this bill or any other upon the subject.

The house also passed a law reducing fares on railroads to two and a half cents per mile, and prohibiting the issuing of free passes. The senate refused to pass this law or any other on the subject.

The house passed a law preventing the charging of illegal interest, and providing that those who contracted for over ten per cent. should forfeit both interest and principal. This law the senate refused to concur in or to pass any other upon the subject.

The house passed laws for a stay of execution in cases of foreclosure of mortgages on real estate; also laws providing that sales should be set aside for inadequacy of price, and leaving this question to a jury rather than a court; also an equity of redemption law; but all legislation of this kind was defeated in the senate.

We were told by senators that "such laws would ruin our credit and drive capital from the state;" yet the State of Massachusetts, where capital exists in abundance, and money is loaned cheaper on real estate than in any other state in the union, has an "equity of redemption" of three years. At common law the equity of redemption was twenty-one years. Massachusetts also has a law which makes the mortgagor and mortgagee joint owners of land for the purpose of taxation, and the value of the mortgage is deducted from the assessed value of the land and taxed to the holders of the mortgages. Iowa has a stay law of two years. It applied to mortgages in existence at the passage of the law, and the supreme courts of Iowa and the United States have decided that this law was constitutional.

The Jews also had an equity of redemption. I find it recorded in the Book of Leviticus:

"The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine, saith the Lord. And in all the land of your possessions ye shall grant a redemption for the land.

"If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possessions, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold.

"And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it, then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it, that he may return unto his possession."

There was a genuine equity of redemption. The years were to be counted up for which the creditor had the possession and use of the land, and the "overplus" balance only had to be paid. But to continue:

"But if he be not able to restore it to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the

hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubilee; and in the jubilee it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession.

"And if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; within a full year may he redeem it.

"But the houses of the villages which have no wall round about them shall be counted as the fields of the country; they may be redeemed, and they shall go out in the jubilee."

Moses, the great law-giver of Israel, wrote as he was inspired by Omnipotent power, by God himself. What a pity that the senate of the State of Kansas was not there to have killed or defeated this equity of redemption law, as they did those passed by the house last winter. They would have told Moses and the great Omnipotent Jehovah that such legislation was calculated to injure the credit of the Jews and drive capital out of Jerusalem. The Kansas state senate evidently were not inspired or in favor of such legislation, whether it comes from the people's house of representatives or the great Jehovah himself.

The house passed a bill making the standard silver dollars and half dollars legal tender for all debts contracted in the state of Kansas, and declaring gold contracts or contracts payable in gold void, as the state has a right to do under the constitution of the United States. This law was bitterly opposed by the Republicans of the house, on the theory that it would ruin our credit and drive capital from the state. The senate refused to consider this law.

The house passed a bill prohibiting the waiver of appraisement and stay laws in suits for the collection of debts, and to repeal chapter 66 of the Session Laws of 1872. The object of this law was to prevent the sale of property at less than two-thirds of its real value. This law, so manifestly in the interest of the people and just to all parties, died in the judiciary committee of the senate.

Senator Buchan complains of the investigation committees. These investigations are common to every legislature; the investigation of the state house shows that thousands of dollars have been squandered through the dishonesty or ignorance of the State House Commission.

Senator Buchan says the work on the state house has stopped, and that thousands of laborers are out of employment. I would like to ask Senator Buchan if it has come to this, that the state must provide work for the laboring people who have been reduced to want by our vicious financial legislation? The senate joined with the house in investigating the Coffeyville dynamite explosion. They also appointed a senate committee to investigate the state house after the house had commenced a full investigation. The house, it is true, investigated charges presented by Republicans against Judge Theodosius Botkin, and impeached him before the senate, where he must be tried. Had the house not done this, they would have shouldered the odium of keeping a drunken, corrupt judge on the bench. As it is, the senate must take that responsibility.

Charges were preferred against Theodosius Botkin, Judge of the thirty-second judicial district, charging that he was an habitual drunkard, corrupt in office, and a blasphemer. These charges were preferred by Republicans, J. F. Vanvoorhis, chairman of the Republican central committee of Seward county, heading the list. The house, as was its duty under the constitution, appointed a committee to investigate these charges. Witnesses were examined, and every charge made was abundantly proven. It was shown that Judge Botkin was not only an habitual drunkard, but was frequently drunk on the bench; that the city of Springfield had been robbed of over $6,000 cash "by order of court," and that the tyranny practiced by him while on the bench was without a precedent since the days of Jeffries. The house, as a result, impeached him, and appointed a board of managers to present articles of impeachment to the senate, which was done. The house, to save expense, then passed an act to abolish the thirty-second judicial district. This the senate refused to pass, thereby making themselves responsible for the expense of the impeachment proceedings, which could have been saved by abolish-

ing this useless district. Every Republican in the house, with one exception, voted against the abolishment of this district. If this drunken, corrupt judge remains on the bench, the Republican senate must take the responsibility, and the odium will be with the Republican party.

A revision committee, after the election last fall, with a great parade and a sudden awakening, had published to the people that they would reduce the number of judicial districts to twenty-five instead of thirty-seven, and thus save twenty-five thousand dollars to the state. When the house had passed a bill to abolish one, where there is not fifteen days' honest work a year, the senate refused to concur, for no other reason than the admitted fact that a drunken Republican was on the bench. It will be seen that the Peoples' party, if they expect to win the battle which they have been fighting, reduce taxation and interest, and save the homes of the people, must not only secure the house of representatives, but must secure the state senate, the governor and the executive departments of the state. Then, and not till then, can the Peoples' party be held responsible for any of the legislation of the state. To accomplish this, we must unite and work as one man.

The Republican papers are harping upon the late utterances of Senator Ingalls, yet he has been repeating what J. K. Hudson said in a speech at Erie, in Neosho county, July 23, 1873, and what Senator Ingalls himself said in 1878, when the bill for the remonetizing of silver was pending. On the 14th day of February, 1878, in the United States Senate, Senator Ingalls used the following emphatic language:

"If by any process all business were compelled to be transacted on a coin basis, and actual specie payments should be enforced, the whole civilized would be bankrupt before sunset. There is not enough coin in existence to meet one-thousandth part of the commercial obligations of mankind. Specie payments, as an actual fact, will never be resumed, neither in gold nor silver, in January, 1879, nor at any other date, here nor elsewhere. The pretense that they will be is either dishonest or delusive."

Again, in the conclusion of his speech, he says:

"*We cannot disguise the truth that we are on the verge of an impending revolution. Old issues are dead. The people are arraying themselves on one side or the other of a portentous contest. On one side capital, formidably intrenched in privilege, arrogant from continued triumph, conservative, tenacious of old theories, demanding new concessions, enriched by domestic levy and foreign commerce, and struggling to adjust all values to its own standard. On the other is labor, asking for employment, striving to develop domestic industries, battling with the forces of nature, and subduing the wilderness; labor, starving and sullen in the cities, resolutely determined to overthrow a system under which the rich grow richer and the poor are growing poorer; a system which gives a Vanderbilt the possession of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, and condemn the poor to a poverty which has no refuge from starvation but the grave. Our demands for justice have been met with indifference or disdain.* The laborers of the country asking for employment are treated like impudent mendicants, begging for bread. The senator from Connecticut informs us that hundreds of millions of dollars are lying idle in New York and Hartford, which can be borrowed, for good security, at 4 per cent., and asks, with something like a sneer, how the coinage of a dollar worth ninety cents will benefit the poor unless they can give good security for their loans. *The laborers of the West do not want to borrow; they want to earn.* They do not wish to pay interest on other people's capital, but to sell their labor, and, if possible, acquire some capital of their own. The producers of the West want a market in which the value of their products will not be consumed by the costs of transportation over railroads that pool their earnings, and combine to keep their rates at a point *where the carrier grows rich and the farmer grows poor.* The senator from Wisconsin, in that admirable speech which left so little for others to say, declared that *it was not a contest between the East and the West.* Let us see. Against silver, as indicated by the vote on the Matthews resolution, are New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont and Rhode Island; for it are every Western state but Michigan, California and Oregon, and every Southern state but Maryland and Delaware, and all these are divided. The senator from Wisconsin was right. It is not the East against the West. *It is the East against the West and South combined.* It is the corn and wheat and beef and cotton of the country against its bonds and its gold; its productive industries against its accumulations. It is the men who own the public debt against those who are to pay it, if it is paid at all. If the bonds of this Government are ever paid *they will be paid by the labor of the country, and not by the capital. They are exempt from taxation and bear none of the burdens of society.* The alliance between the West and South upon all matters affecting their material welfare hereafter is inevitable. Their interests are mutual and identical. With the removal of the causes of political dissensions that have so long separated them they must coalesce, and united they will be invincible. The valleys of the Mississippi and their tributaries form an entirety that must have a homogeneous population, and a common destiny from the Yellowstone to the Gulf.

These great communities have been alienated by factions that have estranged them only to prey upon them, and to maintain political supremacy by their separation. Unfriendly legislation has imposed intolerable burdens on their energies; invidious discriminations have been made against their products; unjust tariffs have repressed their industries, while vast appropriations have been made to protect capital."

Ex-Senator Ingalls, in his belatant interim, recently said :

"Speaking of the Peoples' party movement, I think it may be compared to the feeling of Republicanism which swept over the country from 1856 to 1860. This result might be more quickly reached could the West and South find a common ground on which to stand. The East and North have recognized this all along, and have adroitly prevented any coalition. They know that anything in the South that endangers local government by the white element will be resisted, and that every other interest will be sacrificed to this end. *They have managed to strengthen this feeling by an occasional menace. In the West sectional feeling has been resorted to with varying success until this year, when it signally failed.*"

Senator Ingalls for thirteen years had been at the front fanning sectional prejudices, menacing the South with negro rule on one hand and exciting the prejudices of the North on the other, so as to prevent a union of the West and South, but has now thrown up the sponge.

The Republican platform last fall demanded the free coinage of silver, yet I notice the Republican press of the state are shouting for "Blaine and reciprocity." Have they forgotten the silver bill of 1878, which passed over President Hayes' veto in the senate by a vote of 46 ayes to 19 nays? Among the nays, and against "free coinage," was James G. Blaine, of Maine. Blaine in 1873 had voted to demonetize silver.

Senator Buchan complains that room was not provided last winter for the insane and the poor. Lord Salisbury, when asked the remedy for anarchy, said, "Remove the cause." Did it never occur to Senator Buchan that we might to a large extent remove the cause of insanity? Recently an old citizen of Topeka, one who had been here from the start, finding his home sold from under him and he reduced to penury, in a temporary fit of insanity sent a bullet whizzing through his brain. I have just read of another, a life-long Republican of Lawrence, for thirty-six years a resident of Kansas, unfortunate in financial matters, with starvation, want, and penury staring him and his family in the face, who became a raving maniac. Kansas taxed with a mortgage debt of $150,000,000, chattel mortgages of $50,000,000 more, with $14,000,000 drain from our state every year to pay interest; thousands every day losing their homes; men driven to insanity and crime, women to prostitution, children over the hills to the poor-house; yet Senator Buchan's and the Republican remedy is "more poor-houses, more jails, more asylums. more magdalene hospitals." It has never occurred to them to remove the cause.

I need hardly tell this audience that labor is the only thing that produces wealth; others may accumulate, but labor produces all. Labor supports the family of the man who labors, and also the family of the man who does not. The cause of the condition of the laboring people, the oppressed condition of the middle classes of this country, and of agriculture and all the industries, is the vicious class legislation since the war. Take, if you will, two periods in our history.

First, from 1850 to 1860, ten years of profound peace, the marvelous increase of wealth during this period exceeds that of any other period of our history. The taxable wealth of this country in 1850 was $6,024,666,909. In 1860 it was $12,081,560,005, having more than doubled in ten years. Now take another ten years of profound peace, from 1870 to 1880. The taxable property in 1870 was $14,178,986,722. In 1880 it was $16,902,993,543, an increase in this ten years of less than $3,000,000,000. The estimated value of property in 1850 was $7,135,780,228. In 1860 it was $16,153,616,016. In 1870 it was $31,068,518,507. In 1880 it was $43,642,000,000. In 1890 it was $62,000,000,000. It seems that the marvelous increase of wealth is not of that kind that gets on the tax rolls. Think of it. An increase of taxable property in ten years, 1850 to 1860, of over

six billion, and from 1860 to 1890, a period of thirty years, the increase is no more. In fact, the increase was only fifty per cent. in thirty years, compared to 100 per cent. in ten years. It was our boast before the war, that we were a nation of small property owners, that every family owned their home. During this period there were no mortgages on our farms, the people were out of debt, we were building factories and shops as we had never built them before. How was it from 1870 to 1880? The whole property was passing rapidly into the hands of the few; our farms were plastered all over with mortgages; prices were depreciating; our factories had closed their doors; our shops were idle, and a million of tramps in 1878 filled the land. Crime increased as it had never increased before; our jails, penitentiaries, poor-houses and asylums were filled; civilization was going backward and downward towards barbarism and the dark ages; ministers would get down on their knees and bemoan the low condition of human society, and then get up and vote to make it worse.

It must not be forgotten that the ten years before the war was the low tariff period, while the ten years after the war was not only the high protective tariff period, but we had a "war tariff." This shows that we can have good times under a low tariff, and hard times under a high tariff.

I was amused at a protective tariff speech which Mr. Horr, of Michigan, made in Topeka last spring. He said that "the effect of a protective tariff was to stimulate production, and cause competition, and thus reduce prices." Yet when the tariff is taken off of sugar, the price immediately fell to a sum equal to the tariff reduction. In a paper recently I read the following: "Twenty-five thousand tons of American steel rails have lately been sold in Mexico for less than the same could have been obtained from the English manufacturers." Thus does protection operate to close the markets of the world against American products, and we are compelled to pay $11.00 a ton more for steel rails than our own factories sell the same rails for to a foreign government or people. We, of course, make up the difference in railroad building in this country by voting municipal bonds, which remain a permanent tax on the people.

Just how a reduction in prices is going to protect American labor Mr. Horr did not inform us. I have always understood the theory of protection to be to produce a scarcity so as to keep prices up. According to the theory of Mr. Horr, it must be the tariff on wheat and other agricultural productions that has stimulated its production, and reduced the price. There is now a tariff on eggs, and of course this will stimulate every old hen in the country to lay more eggs, and thus reduce the price. David A. Wells, in a recent work, says: "The steam power of the world is equal to forty million of horse power, or the labor of one thousand millions of men; that half of this steam power is in the United States, doing the work of five hundred million men, more than seven times our entire population. It is this labor being done by steam that we are protecting. This aggregated wealth invested in steam gets the benefit; the real laborers of this country are not benefited, as our past history and price of labor proves.

The statistics of trade show that in fifteen years we have exported from the United States to Europe $1,530,000,000, including productions and money, more than we have imported. Does this make us that much richer or that much poorer? If richer, then Ireland ought to be the richest nation in the world, as for forty years she has exported $100,000,000 a year more than she has imported. In fifteen years England imported *seven billion* more than she exported, making that little island a dumping ground for the wealth of the world. All will admit, I think, that no more money should be collected for taxes on tariff than is necessary for the needs of the country. We have no right to tax one man to build up another man's business. A tariff is an indirect tax, and its

tendency is to raise the price of articles imported. If not, why do the great manufacturers protest against the reduction of the tariff? It is true that with such articles as we export a tariff will not raise the price; hence a tariff on wheat, cattle, hogs, and such things as the farmer raises to sell, and which are not imported, a tariff, high or low, would not affect the price. If a tariff, however, on such articles as we buy in foreign countries and import, does not raise the price, it is no protection. We are caught and seduced with the cry of "protection to American labor," when the truth is, labor is not protected, but the enhanced price goes into the pockets of the manufacturer. We are clamoring for a deep water harbor at Galveston, Texas, to cheapen transportation so as to reduce prices on what we import and buy, and enhance prices on what we raise and sell. Whilst I am in favor of this deep harbor, I cannot comprehend how men can advocate it and then want to restrict trade by law. All restrictions on trade and commerce must be injurious to all parties concerned. President Garfield once said that he was "in favor of that kind of protection that would result in ultimate free trade." Even a tariff for revenue is not a just system of taxation, as we are taxed, not on our incomes and abilities to pay, but upon what we eat and wear. It is a tax on the poor for the benefit of the rich—a man with a wife and nine children paying ten times as much as a rich man with no wife or children. We had a high or Whig tariff in 1842, after the election of Harrison and Tyler. This tariff was reduced one-half in 1846, under Polk, and again twenty per cent. in 1857, and continued low until 1860. It has been a high tariff ever since. Where is the home market it has given us? What effect has it had on the price of labor? These are serious questions and should be studied from a "non-partisan standpoint." In 1845, the last year of that high tariff, the lowest price of mess pork in New York was $9.25, the highest was $14.12. In 1847, the next year after the tariff reduction, the lowest price was $10.25, the highest was $16.00. Wheat in 1845 was 85 cents, the lowest, to $1.40, the highest. In 1847 the lowest price was $1.05, the highest $1.90; and it ranged from 93 cents to $1.95 during that whole low tariff period, sinking below a dollar only once in thirteen years. Wool in 1845 was 20 cents, the lowest, to 38 cents, the highest, per pound, in the New York market. In 1847 the price was 24 cents, the lowest, to 34 cents, the highest. In 1857, with no tariff on wool, the price went up to 45 cents per pound. The lowest that year was 34 cents per pound. This may seem strange, but the reason is obvious. The English factories buy our wool at precisely the same prices the American factories do. We send ten thousand pounds of wool to the New York market; five thousand goes to English factories, five thousand to Massachusetts factories. We get the same price for each. The English get wool from Australia and South America to mix with our wool to make the best cloths, duty free, while our factories are charged ten to twenty cents per pound by our own Government *on each pound imported* in the shape of tariff duties. This depresses the wool industries in this country. We cannot compete with the English factories with their cheaper raw material. Half of our factories are now idle, and our own wool does not command the price it would could we get cheap wool to mix with it from Australia and South America, duty free.

As I said, wheat but twice from 1846 to 1860, under a low tariff, went as low in New York as $1.00 per bushel. This was in 1848, when it went as low as 95 cents, and was as high the same year as $1.40, and in 1857, when it went as low as 93 cents, and was as high as $1.20. But under a high tariff, levied, we are told, "to give us a home market," wheat in 1874 was 93 cents; 1875, 92 cents; 1876, 84 cents; 1878, 83 cents; 1883, 95 cents; 1884, 74 cents; 1885, 68 cents; 1886, 83 cents. And this has been the range of prices to the present. Corn, the last year of high or Whig tariff (1845) was as low as 45 cents and as high as 85 cents in New York.

In 1847, the first year of a tariff reduced one-half, corn was as low only as 64 cents, and went as high in New York as $1.10 per bushel. Corn, from 1847, under the low tariff, was in 1848, 52 to 78 cents; 1847, 57 to 70 cents; 1850, 55 to 72 cents. The lowest price was in 1856, when it went down to 48 cents, but was as high as 74 cents the same year. Under our present high tariff it went as low as 38 cents in 1876, and the highest figure was 49 cents, and the price has continued low ever since. Flour, in 1845, was $4.31 per barrel, and as high as $7.00. In 1847, under the low tariff, it went up; the lowest price was $5.50, highest $8.25. From that time until 1860, the lowest price reached was in 1858, when it went as low as $3.75 per barrel, but was as high as $5.25 per barrel the same year. In 1886, the same flour, under a high tariff, was as low as $2.65, and the highest figure only $3.50. In 1845, the last year of the high tariff of 1842, we exported only $336,779.00 worth of wheat, and $598,598.00 of flour. Under the stimulation given to trade and commerce by the reduction of the tariff one-half in 1846, the next year we exported $6,049,350 of wheat, and $26,133,911 worth of flour. In 1857, when the tariff was again reduced, the export of wheat reached $22,240,857, and of flour $25,882,316. In 1845, our export of corn was $411,741.00 only. In 1847 it was $14,395,-212.00. It seems to me that these figures ought to satisfy every farmer or any sensible man.

The assessed value of taxable property of the United States in 1850, as I have said, was $6,024,666,909. In 1860, after ten years of profound peace and ten years of low tariff, our national taxable wealth increased to $12,084,560,005. You see more than doubling. In 1870, including the war, with an inflated currency, it was only $14,178,886,732, whilst in 1880, another ten years of peace, it reached only $16,902,993,543. I have not before me the manufacturing statistics of 1850 to 1860, but if you will examine the census of 1850 and 1860, you will find that we doubled the number of factories, doubled the capital employed, also the number of laborers, and that under a low tariff. In 1870 to 1880, I find in a table before me some curious statistics, considering the special protection under the high tariff of 1870 to 1880. For instance, we had 2,078 agricultural implement factories in 1870, and only 1,943 in 1880, a loss of 135 factories. Ready-made clothing factories in 1870, 9,705; in 1880, 6,728, a loss of 2,977 factories. Iron and steel factories in 1870, 3,939; in 1880, 1,519, a loss of 2,420 factories. Woolen goods in 1870, 1,938; in 1880, 1,990, an increase in ten years of 52. Of worsted goods in 1870, 102; in 1880, 76, a loss of 26 factories. Even of cotton goods in 1870, we had 969 factories, and in 1880 only 1,005, showing that in ten years we built but 46 cotton factories.

I am indebted to Spofford's American Almanac for these statistics. He is the Librarian of Congress, and a strong Republican. Since 1862 over 296,000,000 acres of public lands have been given to railways, enough to make four states as large as Kansas. What is the remedy for all our ills? I answer, reduce the tariff, tax the luxuries, not the necessaries of life; lower the duties, for instance, on clothing, raise them on diamonds. We want a tariff in the interests of labor instead of capital and corporations and monopolies, as at present. Reduce the burdens of the people as much as possible, increase the volume of money to at least $50.00 per capita, and not over ten per cent. on wealth, then increase it as population, wealth, and business increase, and make it as stable as the metals, which must always be a question of chance. Let the Government own and control the railroads and other transportation lines, and operate them in the interest of the people, and not place the carrying of our products to market at the mercy of corporations. We clamor for cheap transportation in order to reduce prices, yet we restrict trade and commerce by law. If the theory of protection be the true one we ought to fill our harbors with stones and our rivers with snags. We spend millions to remove the bars and snags from our rivers, when in truth and in fact

the snags in the Mississippi are the only protection we have against the cheap sugar of Louisiana. What difference would it make to the sugar producer of Louisiana whether the Government or the steamships charge two or three cents more a pound on imported sugar?

Blaine's remedy is reciprocity with the South American republics, and at once the high protectionists of yesterday run wild on reciprocity. The products of South America are principally cattle, sheep, hides, and wool. These New England wants in exchange for the products of her factories. This is the "home market" promised the West by the advocates of protection; but when delegates from the Government of Canada come to Washington to negotiate reciprocity between Canada and the United States, Harrison and Blaine send them home. "No reciprocity is wanted with Canada." Reciprocity, as I understand it, is, "We will admit the products of your country free if you will ours." Just how this differs from Democratic "free trade" I cannot imagine. Some one has stated, "It is free trade on ice." The knights of reciprocity must be free traders in disguise. It is simply a "rose by another name."

But, gentlemen, we have prospered under a low tariff and we have prospered under a high tariff; hence the shrinkage in values and the depression in business and agriculture all over this country cannot be the tariff. We must find some other cause.

We boast of our great and rich country. On the political stump and in the party press we are told how our country has increased in not only power but wealth. Yet, the facts are, that this great increase is in railroads, banks and great corporations; that *fifteen thousand* individuals and firms own *one-half* of the wealth of the whole country; that farms everywhere are heavily mortgaged; that agriculture is depressed, and the people are rapidly becoming millionaires on the one hand and paupers on the other; that with all our *boasted* increase of wealth, which has all been produced by labor, the laboring people on the farm and in the shop are in a worse condition than they were twenty-five years ago. The census just taken shows over two millions of families in this great and rich country without homes. *Twelve millions of paupers!!* We have placed the power to *make money* and fix its *value* in the hands of corporations, which enables them to put up or put down prices by making money scarce or plenty. We loan two hundred millions to the national banks at half of one per cent., and give them the power to absorb the whole wealth of the people in interest. We have placed the transportation of the products of the soil in the hands of corporations. The transmission of intelligence is also in the hands of corporations; and thus, you see, the people are at the mercy of these corporations; and, like *idiots*, *we wonder at the condition of the people.*

General George Washington, when elected commander-in-chief of the colonial armies in June, 1776, stipulated that if he accepted the trust, *it must be without pay.* When the war was over and the independence of the colonies was acknowledged, the people would have made Washington king of the new nation. They were ready to heap any emoluments on the successful General. Yet, Washington refused them all, bade his officers and men adieu, retired to Annapolis where Congress was in session, resigned his commission, and at once returned to private life, to his farm at Mt. Vernon. *He* sought no pension, no promotions; did not ask even to retire on half pay. When unanimously elected President in 1788 he accepted the position, again stipulating to serve his country without a salary or any reward. When he retired, at the close of his second term, refusing a re-election, he at once returned to his farm and the pursuits of private life. With *him*, office was a sacred trust, exercised not for private gain, but to promote the public good. Washington left no children, hence he is called "the father of his country." Washington, in fact, left no descendants, politically speaking; no one since Washington has

voluntarily returned to private life without clamoring for a pension or "half pay." We have already created a pensioned aristocracy in this country, civil and military. Instead of studying the simplicity of the father, we are aping the monarchies of the old world.

Jefferson, when elected President, travelled from Monticello, his residence, to Washington, on horseback. What President would now think of traveling to Washington without a Pullman vestibule car?

The receipts of the United States Treasury in 1796, the last year of Washington's administration, was $8,607,821.00. The expenditures were only $5,790,650.00, or about $1.50 per capita. The receipts of the Treasury in 1888 were $371,403,277.00. The expenditures, excluding interest on the public debt, were $267,932,180.00, or about $5.00 per capita. The appropriation in the last Congress reached one billion, or over $15.00 for each man, woman, and child in the country.

Before the war we had no poor men and few rich ones. We could have counted all our millionaires on the fingers of one hand and the paupers on the other. To-day we are a nation of millionaires on the one hand and paupers on the other. In the number of rich men we now exceed the old world. These men in many, in fact in most instances, have been made rich by class legislation, by which the rich have been made richer and the poor poorer. Public offices and public trusts are to-day bought and sold with as little hesitancy as we used to buy hogs and sheep. The prices of everything we produce are controlled by trusts, that reduce and increase the prices of everything we consume. We go to the election and vote for this ticket because it is headed "Republican," or the other because it is headed "Democratic," and whichever is elected produces no change in this class legislation. *One million of men are idle*, and labor is in competition. The price of labor is not only low, but is continually going lower. In our political frenzy we have not time to stop and study the cause. "Opposition to all monopoly of money, lands or transportation, equal rights, equal burdens, equal taxation, and equal benefits to all, with special privileges to none," was the touchstone of Jeffersonian Democracy. The Declaration of Independence teaches that governments are intended for the benefit of the people, not for the benefit of the few against the many; that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that those who have to obey laws should have a voice in making them. In a word, that all men and all women were created free and equal, and endowed by the Creator with the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Daniel Webster, the great Whig leader, once in the United States Senate said: "The great interest of the country, the producing cause of all its prosperity, is labor! labor! labor! The Government was made to encourage and protect this industry and give it security. To this very end, with this object in view, power was given to Congress over the currency of the country." President Lincoln, in his annual message to Congress, in 1861, said that "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the product of labor, and could never have existed without labor, and therefore labor deserves a much higher consideration." It follows, if this country is to be built up and prosper, we must protect labor and the laboring people. When labor suffers, all must suffer. By the help of labor-saving machinery one man can now do the work that ten men used to do. Labor, therefore, should share some of the benefits; either work less hours, and have more time for reading and recreation, or receive much higher wages, or both. As it now is, those who work the hardest are paid the smallest wages; those who do not work at all, get nearly all. There should be no unnecessary restrictions on trade and commerce.

What Kansas needs is the free markets of the world, in which to buy and sell. We should have low rates of transportation, and cease erecting barriers by bad laws. I do not comprehend how it benefits labor to

protect corporations and monopolies, and then vote to fill our country with the slave labor of China and the old world. Revenues to support the Government, experience has demonstrated, can be collected from a tariff on imports. But such a tariff should be adjusted in the interests of the great producing classes of the country; in the interests of labor rather than the rich manufacturer. All will concede that no more money (or tax) should be collected from any source than enough to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered. One of the great needs of our people is more money. The great lawgiver of Israel, three thousand years ago, said: "Money answereth all things." Napoleon, when asked what were the three most essential requisites in war, said: "The first is money, the second is money, and the third is still more money." This is as true in peace as in war. If money is scarce, trade languishes and our industries are paralyzed; the price of labor comes down, and thousands, if not millions, are out of employment. At such times, what money there is flees to the great money centers, and goes out of circulation like a congestive chill when the blood leaves the extremities and goes to the heart. If, on the other hand, the volume of money is increased, trade is stimulated, our industries leap forward, and all the idle laborers are induced to go to work; the price of labor increases. The most prosperous period in our history was just after the close of the war, when the soldiers had been paid off and returned home, and the money with which they were paid went into general circulation.

The population in 1860 was 31,443,321. In 1870 it was 38,358,371—say 35,000,000 at the close of the war, in 1866. At that time there was in circulation moneys as follows: Demand notes, $272,162; greenbacks, $400,619,-206; temporary loans, $120,176,196; one and two year treasury notes, $3,-454,230; certificates of indebtedness, $26,391,000; postal currency, $7,030,-700; compound interest treasury notes, $159,012,140; fractional currency, $20,040,176; 7-30 treasury notes, August and September, 1864, $139,301,700; 7-30 treasury notes, 1864-5, $806,251,550; making a total of $1,682,549,060. There was outstanding at that time, state bank circulation, $19,996,163; national bank notes, $281,479,608, making $301,475,771, which gives the sum of all kinds of paper money then in circulation at $1,984,024,831, exclusive of gold and silver. Adding the gold and silver then in circulation, and we had at least $57 per capita, or over $2,000,000,000.

There is some difference of opinion as to the amount of money now actually in circulation. Senator Plumb estimates it at less than $10 per capita. The treasury department estimates the amount of money of all kinds now in this country at $1,500,000,000; the population at 64,000,000. This is $25 per capita, but it is less than half the money in circulation when we had but 35,000,000 population. We have almost doubled the population since 1866, and shrunk the volume of money almost one-half, but this money is not in circulation. $751,000,000 is idle in the treasury and Government depositories. Good banking requires 25 to 30 per cent. of deposits to be kept on hand to pay depositors. I have before me a table showing the condition of the national and other banks January 30th, 1888. There were 3,049 national banks, with a capital of $578,500,000. They had on deposit, or rather due depositors, $1,274,700,000, being more than double their capital stock. If twenty-five per cent. of this was in the bank vaults it was not in circulation; this would be $318,675,000. There were 3,803 state banks, with a capital of $214,000,000; their deposits were $1,480,000,000. There were twenty-six savings banks, with $4,000,000 capital, $43,500,000 deposits. Savings banks without capital, 625; deposits, $950,200,000; being a total number of banks of 7,448, with a capital stock of $717,300,000; deposits, $2,902,300,000. This shows that there was due depositors three times their capital stock, or that there was due depositors double the whole volume of money in the whole country. I am asked how this is possible. I answer, the same money is deposited

over and over. But good banking requires twenty-five per cent. of all amounts due depositors to be kept in the bank vaults. This in 1888 was $725,000,000, which leaves but a small amount in actual circulation, if the banks are doing a sound business. As early as 1878 the volume of money had shrunk over one-half, leaving this country on the verge of bankruptcy and ruin. We also find that this is only a repetition of history. This is the natural effect of a shrinkage in the volume of money. "At the beginning of the christian era, we find the metallic money of the Roman Empire amounted to $1,800,000,000. By the end of the fifteenth century it had shrunk to less than $200,000,000. During this period a most extraordinary and baleful change took place in the condition of the world. Population dwindled, and commerce, arts, wealth, and freedom all disappeared. The people were reduced by poverty and misery to the most degraded conditions of serfdom and slavery. The disintegration of society was almost complete. The conditions of life were so hard that individual selfishness was the only thing consistent with the instinct of self-preservation. All public spirit, all generous emotions, all the nobler aspirations of man, shrivelled and disappeared as the volume of money shrank and as prices fell. History records no such disastrous transition as that from the Roman Empire to the Dark Ages. Various explanations have been given of this entire breaking down of the frame-work of society, but it was certainly coincident with a shrinkage in the volume of money, which was also without historical parallel. The crumbling institutions kept even step and pace with the shrinkage in the stock of money and the falling of prices. All other attendant circumstances than these last have occurred in other historical periods, unaccompanied and unfollowed by any such mighty disasters. It is a suggestive coincidence that the first glimmer of light only came with the invention of bills of exchange and paper substitutes, through which the scanty stock of the precious metals was increased in efficiency."

In 1878 the shrinkage in the volume of money filled this country with tramps, and history is repeating itself. Crime in 1878 was increasing at a terrible rate. Speaking of the tramps at that time, the following are quotations from the good, law-abiding papers and citizens of that period. The Chicago *Times* said: "Hand grenades should be thrown among those who are striving to obtain higher wages, as by *such* treatment they will be taught a valuable lesson, and other strikers would take warning by their fate." *Scribner's Monthly* made use of this language: "He (the tramp) has no right but that which society may see fit for its grace to bestow upon him. He has no more rights than the sow that wallows in the gutter, or the lost dog that hovers around the city square." The Cincinnati *Commercial* said: "One wonders why Matthews wanted to bother himself about the eight-hour theory: Should government employes be raised to the rank of favorites, and classified for pampering at the public treasury?" The New York *Independent* said: "We would recommend the farmers to take the law into their own hands, and organize themselves into vigilance committees, and turn sharp-shooters, and bring down at least one of these bread or blood gentry at every fire." The New York *Times* said: "There seems to be but one remedy, and it must come by a change of ownership of the soil, and a creation of a class of land-owners on the one hand, and of tenant farmers on the other — something similar to what has long existed in the old countries of Europe." Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in a discourse delivered in his church in Brooklyn, said: "Is not a dollar a day enough to buy bread? Water costs nothing, and a man who cannot live on bread and water is not fit to live. A family may live, laugh, love, and be happy, that eats bread in the morning with good water, and water and good bread at noon, and water and bread at night." The Chicago *Tribune* said: "The simplest plan, probably, when one is not a member of the humane society, is to put a

little strychnine or arsenic in the meat or other supplies furnished tramps. This produces death within a comparatively short time, is a warning to other tramps, and puts the coroner in a good humor." If law-abiding citizens can give such advice as the above, what can we expect from the people who are made to suffer from the ills of a shrinkage in the volume of currency. David Hume, who was one of the greatest political economists of the age, said one hundred and forty years ago: "The volume of money in the country, other things being equal, regulates prices, regulates labor and all the productions of labor." If the volume of money is large, no matter whether it is gold, silver, or paper, as in 1866–7, prices will be higher, labor will be sought after, and the price of labor will rise. If we shrink the volume of money as we did in 1878 or at present, we stagnate business and paralyze the industries. Dr. Wyland, a writer of the old school, in his Elements of Political Economy, says: "We cannot too often reiterate, nor too strongly emphasize, the fundamental principle that *industry is limited to capital*, and every increase of capital demands an increase of labor. When the number of laborers is great and the amount of capital is small, there will be a competition of laborers for work. This tends at once to reduce the rate of wages, and some will fail to obtain employment and others receive barely enough to evade starvation. There is consequently great distress, general discontent, and often violent insurrections, which aggravate the whole difficulty. On the contrary, when the number of laborers is small and the amount of capital great, there will be competition among capitalists for labor, and the wages or price of labor will rise." Professor Walker, another writer of the old school, in his work called "The Science of Wealth," says: "Capital should at least increase in a degree corresponding to the increase of population. If it does not labor is crippled, wages fall, and starvation eventually ensues. Ireland may be quoted as an illustration. Her soil was wrested from the people by conquest at different periods, from the reign of Henry II to the battle of the Boyne; has passed into the hands of foreigners, who draw away annually all her surplus products. Population increases from year to year, but capital does not increase correspondingly. Nay, even the waste of the soil and of implements is not fully and honestly supplied. What is the necessary consequence? Increasing poverty and ultimate starvation or emigration. We have said that capital is formed from the annual savings of labor. Twenty-five million dollars a year goes from Ireland to absentee landlords, and $40,000,000 are taken away every year in taxes. The Irish people can make no savings; there can be no increase of capital; starvation or emigration is their inevitable fate. From 9,000,000 before the famine of 1846, the population fell rapidly to a little over 4,000,000. At this time the equilibrium was so far restored that wages rose to a rate sufficient to secure to the laborer a decent subsistence." What a picture! Instead of increasing the volume of money to meet the necessities of 9,000,000 of people, they reduced population by starvation and emigration to 4,000,000, to make it correspond to the volume of money in the country—reducing the Irish people to serfdom. History is repeating itself in this country. President Grant said in his message to Congress, December 2d, 1873: "To increase our exports, sufficient currency is required to keep all the industries of the country employed. *Without this, national as well as individual bankruptcy must ensue.*" In 1878 we partially remonetized silver, and stopped the destruction of the treasury notes, which, to some extent, restored prosperity. But since then we have increased in population to 64,000,000, but we have only about half the money we had in 1866, and are wondering at the hard times. There is no excuse for this. The people of this nation have a mortgage debt of over $12,000,000,000. Without an increase, and a great increase, in the volume of money, this debt can never be paid. "If this

debt cannot be paid," I hear you ask, "what then?" I cannot answer this question. I know, or think I know, what God would do if left to Him. In the eleventh chapter of Exodus it is related that "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak to the children of Israel and tell every man to borrow of his neighbor and every woman of her neighbor, jewels of silver and jewels of gold; and God said He would soften the hearts of the Egyptians so they would loan them what they wanted." In the next chapter it is related that Moses did as the Lord told him, and the children of Israel did as Moses told them; they borrowed jewels of silver and jewels of gold, borrowed raiment; they spoiled the Egyptians, that is, borrowed all they had; and 600,000 men, besides children, left Egypt the same night. The Lord led them in a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. When God and Moses were helping to negotiate this loan, they knew that not a dollar was to be paid back. Had some of our senators been there they would have called the Lord a lunatic and Moses a repudiator. The only explanation I have ever heard made of this transaction, and the only one that can be made, is, that this property belonged to the Israelites, was produced by their labor, and God took this plan to restore to them what in justice belonged to them. I accept the explanation. Now let me ask who produced the wealth of this nation? Take my advice, and do not wait for God to restore to the people of this country what in justice belongs to them. We might not like the way or the results if we, too, were swallowed up in the Red Sea—a sea of blood, perhaps. Let me tell you, if that contest ever comes between capital and labor in this country, that God and Moses will be found on the side of the laboring people now as they were then. God always was on the side of the poor—of the laboring masses. When the Lord chose his twelve apostles there was not a banker, a merchant, a lawyer, or a money loaner in the whole lot.

We have another incident. When Nehemiah, the prophet, went to Jerusalem from Babylon to rebuild the walls, he relates:

"And there was a great cry of the people, and of their wives, against their brethren the Jews.

"For there were that said, We, our sons and our daughters, are many; therefore, we take up corn for them, that we may eat and live.

"Some also there were that said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards and houses that we might buy corn, because of the dearth.

"There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards.

"Yet now, our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children; and lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought unto bondage already; neither is it in our power to redeem them, for other men have our lands and vineyards."

The good Nehemiah then says:

"And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words.

"Then I consulted with myself, [he did not go and consult Wall street,] and I rebuked the nobles and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brethren, and I set a great assembly against them, [stirred the people up as it were].

"Then I said, it is not good that ye do; ought ye not to walk in the fear of our God because of the reproach of the heathen, our enemies.

"Restore, I pray you, to them even this day their lands, their vineyards, and their houses."

And they did it. The stroke of a pen wiped them all out. Some of our senators ought to have been there to have reminded Nehemiah that he was an anarchist, that he was destroying the credit of the Jews, and driving capital out of Jerusalem. I am not advising the wiping out of this mortgage debt as Nehemiah, commissioned by God, wiped it out in Jerusalem. I am not advising a settlement as made by the Israelites when they left Egypt. I am only relating what took place under the directions and sanctioned by Jehovah. The people of this country are not repudiators. They want to pay, not repudiate, but they must have the means. What this country needs, what the people must have, is money that will pay debts. The more money in circulation the easier it is to do this. In 1858

we were digging out of our mines over $70,000,000 of gold and silver annually; to-day, with double the population, we are producing less gold and silver. Yet the treasury notes, or so-called greenback money, has been reduced since 1868 over $150,000,000. The national bank circulation has been contracted over $300,000,000, with $800,000,000 idle in the treasury. With these facts before us we are still wondering what is the cause of the hard times, and asking ourselves when times will be better. That we can no longer depend upon gold and silver as money must be apparent to all. The superintendent of the mint estimates, or rather states, the amount of gold in the world at $3,727,018,869; silver, $3,826,571,346; total of both metals, $7,547,590,215. As there is not gold and silver enough in the whole world, if we had it all, to pay the mortgage debts of this country, what is to take the place of gold and silver as money is the great question of the day This raises the question of what is money, its functions, its use, and its value? Aristottle, writing of money, said: "Money by itself has value only by law, and not by nature; so that a change of convention between those who use it is sufficient to deprive it of all its value and power to satisfy all our wants. But with regard to a future exchange (if we want nothing at present) money is, as it were, our security that it may take place when we do want something." John Locke, in "Considerations Regarding Money," published in 1691, says: "Mankind, having covenanted to put an imaginary value upon gold and silver, by reason of their durableness and scarcity, and not being very liable to be counterfeited, have made them, by general consent, the common pledges whereby men are assured, in exchange for them, to receive equally valuable things to those they parted with, for any quantity of those metals; by which means it comes to pass that the intrinsic value regarding those metals, made the common barter, is nothing but the quantity which men give or receive for them; they having, as money, no other value but as pledges to procure what one wants or desires." Baudeau, reputed one of the most eminent of an early school of French economists, says: "Coin money in circulation is nothing, as I have said elsewhere, but effective titles on a general mass of useful and agreeable enjoyment which cause the well-being and propagation of the human race. It is a kind of bill of exchange, or order payable at the will of the bearer." Adam Smith says: "A guinea may be considered a bill for a certain quantity of necessaries and conveniences upon all the tradesmen in the neighborhood." Jevons' "Money Exchanges," chapter 8, says: "Those who use coins in ordinary business need never inquire how much metal they contain. Probably not one person in two thousand in this kingdom knows, or need know, that a sovereign should contain 123.27447 grains of standard gold. Money is made to go. People want coin, not to keep in their own pockets, but to pass it off into their neighbors' pockets." Henry Thornton, in his work on "Paper Credit," says: "Money of every kind is an order for goods. It is so considered by the laborer when he receives it, and it is almost instantly turned into money's worth. It is merely the instrument by which the purchasable stock of the country is distributed with convenience and advantage among the several members of the community." John Stuart Mill says: "The pounds or shillings which a person receives are a sort of a ticket or order which he can present for payment at any shop which he pleases, and which entitle him to receive a certain value of any commodity of which he makes choice."

Assuming the population to-day to be 65,000,000, and the ratio of its annual increase 3⅓ per cent., the population of next year will be 67,166,600. The percentage of monetary increase to be provided for that year should therefore be based on the increased number; and so on for each succeeding year. I have thought best to collect a variety of authority from the most distinguished men on financial economy, to support my position, that "the value of each dollar depends on the number

of dollars in circulation." John Locke, in his *Considerations*, published in 1690, said: "Money, while the same quantity of it is passing up and down the kingdom in trade, is really a standing measure of the falling and rising value of other things in reference to one another, and the alteration in price is true in them only. But if you increase or lessen the quantity of money current in traffic in any place, then the alteration of value is in the money. The value of money in any one country is the present quantity of the current money in that country, in proportion to the present trade." The historian Hume says: "It is not difficult to perceive that it is the total quantity of the money in circulation in the country which determines what proportion of that quantity shall exchange for a certain portion of the goods or commodities of that country. It is the proportion between the circulating money and the commodities in the market which determines the price." Fitch says: "The amount of money current in a state represents everything that is purchasable on the surface of the state. If the quantity of purchasable articles increases, while the quantity of money remains the same, the value of money increases in the same ratio. If the quantity of money increases, while the quantity of purchasable articles remains the same, the value of money decreases in the same ratio." James Mills, in his "Treatise on Political Economy," says: "And again, in whatever degree, therefore, the quantity of money is increased or diminished, other things remaining the same, in that same proportion the value of the whole, and of every part, is reciprocally increased or diminished." John Stuart Mill, "Political Economy," says: "The value of money, other things being the same, varies inversely as its quantity; every increase of quantity lowering the value, every diminution raising in a ratio exactly equivalent. Alterations in the cost of the production of the precious metals do not act upon the value of money, except just in proportion as they increase or diminish its quantity." Ricardo, "Reply to Bosanquet," says: "The value of money in any country is determined by the amount existing. Commodities would rise or fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money; I assume, as a fact, that it is incontrovertible. There can exist no depreciation in money but from excess. However debased a coin by age may become, it will preserve its mint value; that is to say, it will pass in circulation for the intrinsic value of the bullion which it ought to contain, provided it be not in too great abundance." In this case, Ricardo's is the supposed case of a country actually using one million gold pieces containing one hundred grains. Sir James Graham says: "The value of money is in the inverse ratio of its quantity, the supply of commodities remaining the same." Torrens, in his work on "Political Economy," says: "Gold is a commodity governed by the law of supply and demand. If the value of all other commodities in relation to gold rises and falls as their quantities increase or diminish in relation to the commodities, gold must rise and fall as its quantity is diminished or increased." Woloski says: "The sum total of the precious metals is reckoned at fifty milliards, one-half gold and one-half silver. If by a stroke of the pen they suppress one of these metals in the monitary service, they double the demand for the other metal, to the ruin of all debtors." Sernuschi says: "The purchasing power of money is in direct proportion to the volume of money existing." Professor Francis A. Walker, in his work on "Money," page 57, says: "The value of money in any country is determined by the amount existing. Its (money's) power of acquisition depends not on its substance but on its quantity." Prof. De Colonge, in the American Cyclopædia of Commerce, article on "Money," says: "The rate at which money exchanges for other things is determined by its quantity. Supposing the amount of trade and the mode of circulation to remain stationary, if the quantity of money be increased its value will fall and the price of other commo-

dities will proportionally rise, as the latter will then exchange against a greater amount of money; if on the other hand the quantity of money be reduced, its value will be raised and prices in a corresponding degree diminished, as commodities will then have to be exchanged for a less amount of money. In whatever degree, therefore, the quantity of money is increased or diminished, other things remaining the same, in that same proportion the value of the whole and of every part is reciprocally diminished or increased." A curtailment of the volume of money in any country will increase the value of money of that country. All the authorities agree that this law applies to all forms of money, whatever the material; so that it applies to paper money with precisely the same force that it applies to metallic money. Mr. Samuel Jevons, in his work on "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," says: "There is plenty of evidence to prove that an incontrovertible paper money, if carefully limited in quantity, can retain its full value. Such was the case with the Bank of England notes for several years after the suspension of specie payments in 1797, and such is the case with the present notes of the Bank of France. Mr. Gallatin said: "If in a country which wants and possesses a metallic currency of $70,000,000, a paper currency to the same amount should be substituted, the $70,000,000 in gold or silver being no longer wanted for that purpose, exported and the returns converted into a productive capital, would add an equal amount to the wealth of the country." In his "Proposal for an Economic and Secure Currency," he says: "A well-regulated paper currency is so great an improvement in commerce that I should greatly regret if prejudice should induce us to return to a system of less utility. The introduction of the precious metals for the purposes of money may with truth be considered as one of the most important steps toward the improvement of commerce and the arts of civilized life; but it is no less true that with the advancement of knowledge and science, we discover that it would be another improvement to banish them again from the employment to which, during a less enlightened period, they had been so advantageously applied." Mr. J. R. McCulloch, in commenting on the principles of money laid down by Ricardo, says: "He examined the circumstances which determine the value of money, and he showed that its value will depend on the extent to which it may be issued compared with the demand. This is a principle of great importance; for it shows that intrinsic worth is not necessary to a currency, and that, provided the supply of paper notes declared to be legal tender be sufficiently limited, their value may be maintained on a par with the value of gold or raised to any higher level. If, therefore, it were practicable to devise a plan for preserving the value of paper on a level with that of gold without making it convertible into coin at the pleasure of the holder, the heavy expense of a metallic currency would be saved. It appears, therefore, that if there were perfect security that the power of issuing paper money would not be abused; that is, if there were perfect security for its being issued in such quantities as to preserve its value relatively to the mass of circulating commodities nearly equal, the precious metals might be dispensed with, not only as a circulating medium, but also as a standard to which to refer the value of paper." "In adopting a paper circulation," says Lord Overstone, "we must unavoidably depend for a maintenance of its due value upon the adoption of a strict and judicious rule for the regulation of its amount." Lord Overstone further declared that "the value of the paper currency results from its being kept at the same amount the metallic currency would have been." Alexander Baring, in his evidence before the secret committee of the House of Lords in 1819, said: "The reduction of paper money would produce all those effects which arise from the reduction in the amount of money in any country." Prof. F. A. Walker says: "Let me repeat, money is to be known by its doing a certain work.

Money is not gold, though gold may be money, and sometimes it is not. Money is not one thing, no group of many things having any material property in common. On the contrary, anything may be money; and anything in a given time and place is money which then and there performs a certain function. Always and everywhere that which does the money work is the money thing." Sir Archibald Allison says: "The suspension of specie payment in 1797, making bank notes a legal tender receivable for taxes, by providing Great Britain with an adequate internal currency, averted the catastrophe then so general upon the Continent and gave it at the same time an extraordinary degree of prosperity. Such was the commencement of the paper system in Great Britain, which ultimately produced such astonishing effects and brought the struggle (of the Napoleonic wars) to a triumphant close."

"The true money standard of any country is not the material of which the money is made. The standard is not a concrete object, but a numerical relation. It is the relation between the number of units composing the monetary circulation of the country and the numbers of its population. It is the legal-tender function that constitutes money."

The United States Supreme Court has decided that Congress may provide for a national issue of paper money, based on the credit of the Government, making it a legal tender, or that greenbacks may be issued as needed in peace as well as war. The sovereign power to make money should never be delegated to corporations. Why not wipe out our national banks, and prohibit state banks of issue. We want no wildcat money. President Thomas Jefferson, one of the greatest of American statesmen, said, in a letter to Colonel Epps, his son-in-law: "Bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulating medium must be restored to the nation to whom it belongs. Let banks continue if they please, but let them discount for cash or loan treasury notes." President Madison, in his message, January 20, 1813, said: "It may be necessary to ascertain the terms upon which the notes of the Government (no longer required as an instrument of credit) shall be issued upon motives of general policy as a common medium." And again, December 3, 1816, he said; "But for the interests of the community at large, as well as for the purposes of the treasury, it is essential that the nation should possess a currency of equal value, credit and use wherever it may circulate. The Constitution has intrusted Congress exclusively with the power of creating and regulating a currency of that description." President Jackson said, in 1835, in his message vetoing the United States bank bill: "But if they (Congress) have the power to regulate the currency, it was conferred to be exercised by themselves, and *not to be transferred to a corporation.* If the bank be established for that purpose, with a charter unalterable, without its consent, Congress has parted with their power for a term of years, during which *the Constitution is a dead letter.* It is neither necessary nor proper to transfer its legislative powers to such a bank, and therefore unconstitutional." Hon. John C. Calhoun said in the United States Senate in 1837: "It is, then, my impression, that in the present condition of the world a paper currency in some form is almost indispensable in financial and commercial operations of civilized and extensive communities. In many respects it has a vast superiority over metallic currency, especially in great and extensive transactions, on account of its greater cheapness, lightness, and the facility of determining its amount. No one can doubt that the Government credit is better than any bank, more reliable, more safe. Why, then, should it mix up with the less perfect credit of those institutions? And why should the community be compelled to give six per cent. discount for the Government credit, blended with that of the bank, when the superior credit of the Government could be furnished separately, without discount, to the mutual advantage of the Government and the community? It has another and striking advan-

tage over bank circulation in its superiority and cheapness, as well as greater stability."

Bank paper is cheap to those who make it, but dear, very dear, to those who use it; fully as much as gold and silver. It is the little cost of its manufacture, and the dear rates at which it is furnished to the community, which gives the great profit to those who have a monopoly of the article. On the other hand, the credit of the Government, while it would greatly facilitate its financial operations, would cost nothing, or next to nothing, both to it and the people, and of course would add nothing to the cost of production; which would give to every branch of industry, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, as far as circulation might extend, great advantages, both at home and abroad.

"I now undertake to affirm positively, without the least fear that I can be answered, what heretofore I have but suggested, that a paper issued by the Government, with the simple promise to receive it in all dues, would form a perfect paper circulation which could not be abused by the Government, that would be as steady and uniform in value as the metals themselves. I will be able to prove that it is within the constitutional power of Congress to use such a paper in the management of its finances, according to the most rigid construction of the Constitution." Thomas H. Benton was right when he got up in the United States Senate, pending the discussion on the United States bank, and declared "the Government ought not to delegate this power if it could. It was too great a power to be trusted to any banking company whatever, or to any authority but the highest and most responsible which was known to our form of government. The Government itself ceases to be independent when the national currency is at the will of a company. The Government can undertake no great enterprise, either of war or peace, without the consent and co-operation of that company, its friendship or its enmity, its concurrence or opposition; to see how far that company will permit money to be scarce or to be plentiful, how far it will suit the interest or policy of that company to create a tempest or suffer a calm in the money ocean. The people are not safe when such a company has such power. The temptation is too great; the opportunity too easy to put up and to put down prices; to make and break fortunes; to bring the whole community upon its knees to the Neptunes who preside over the flux and reflux of paper. All property is at their mercy. The price of real estate, of every growing crop, of every staple article in the market, is at their command. Stocks are their playthings—their gambling theater, on which they gamble daily, with as little secrecy and as little modesty and far more mischief to fortunes than common gamblers carry on their operations." Dr. Franklin said: "Gold and silver are not intrinsically of equal value with iron, a metal in itself capable of many more benefits to mankind." President Grant said, in his annual message to Congress, in 1873: "The experience of the present panic has proven that the currency of the country, based as it is on the credit of the country, is the best that has ever been devised." It had a base that could not go to Europe; that would stand by us in adversity as well as in prosperity, war as well as peace.

A nation with sixty-four millions of people and sixty-two billions of property, with power to coin money, should never borrow money or issue bonds. We now have seven hundred and fifty-one millions idle in the treasury, a sum four times as large as the whole national bank circulation, and every business interest of the country is suffering. Money or capital should not be allowed to fund itself into Government bonds, or lie idle and accumulate in interest. Our national debt should be paid, not funded. If capitalists who now hold our bonds had the money, and that money could not accumulate until it went to work, we would find it everywhere hunting something to do; labor would be in demand, and the

price of labor come up. You have not forgotten that our greatest prosperity, as a people, was in 1866 and 1867, when we had no idle men or women. Labor was amply rewarded, yet not a dollar in gold and silver was in circulation in this country, or a dollar based on gold or silver. The whole circulation of over two thousand millions of dollars was based upon the credit of this great nation of ours. The people not only prospered, but civilization took a step higher and in advance. It must not be forgotten that hard times came with what was falsely called resumption; when we got down to a solid basis, *i. e.*, hard money, and but little of it, resulting in hard times and the country full of it. You know all political science teaches that when the volume of money is small and prices are coming down, the demand for labor gets scarce; that there is no market for what we raise; that men are unable to pay their debts, and individual bankruptcy and ruin follows, and the property of the country rapidly changes hands at forced sales; labor is idle, and crime increases. In a government like ours, the military should be kept in strict subordination to civil power. We must not forget that in our Constitution it is provided that all powers not delegated to Congress are reserved to the states, or the people of the states respectively; that Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that all such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their affairs not limited by the Constitution. Yet we want a government that is strong enough to protect every citizen; one that will see justice meted out to the rich and poor alike; one that will make the same effort to secure a fair trial for the naturalized Irishman in Ireland as the aristocratic murderer in London; one, if necessary, that can reach its long arm into Kilmainham jail and secure the release or a fair trial of the lowest of our citizens, whether by birth or adoption, one that will secure respect to the American citizen the world over; one that will be respected in Italy or in Lisbon. We want a government of the people, by the people, for the people. I do n't believe in any toadyism to the aristocracy of this country, or of the old world. We want an aristocracy of labor rather than one of capital.

This Government should also own and operate the telegraph, telephone and railroad lines. The transmission of freight, passengers, and intelligence, should not be at the mercy of corporations. The Government thought so when it provided the post-office department, the only source of news and information at that time. Congress has become an association of stock jobbers. A man goes there as a Republican or a Democrat; the party lines are drawn, and he is whipped into the traces and loses individuality. Men are called demagogues because they hear and heed the murmurings of the laboring masses. We must substitute Government legal-tender paper for national bank issues. We must overthrow corruption at the polls and in representative bodies. We must secure the greatest good for the many rather than the few. We must protect and build up labor rather than capital. We must grant no special privileges to corporations that we do not grant to the whole people. We must secure a free ballot and a fair count; no bulldozing the laboring man's vote, South or North. We must control by law and bring into subjection to the interest of the people all corporations and monopolies that have by combination and extortion established absolute dominion over money, over transportation, over invention, over land and labor, and over prices. The trusts must be wiped out. All railroad grants not earned by the roads should be restored to the public domain, and made subject to homestead entry. When a man accepts a public office, and the people pay him a salary, his time and his energies belong to his constituents and not to himself, and he should seek the highest possible public good. We must adhere more closely to the teachings of the fathers. The place to right all political wrongs in a republican government

is at the ballot-box. There is no excuse for labor riots or bloodshed or rebellion in a republican government. We would not have these if we taught, and as we must teach, our boys and girls more respect for the ballot and the lessons it teaches. We must study all economic and political questions from a non-partisan standpoint. This is the science of government. We must study this mortgage debt hanging over our country. It is sweeping away the entire property of the people. It is a worse calamity than the Johnstown flood or the overflow of the Mississippi. The Government was liberal in its donations to the Johnstown sufferers and to the people along the Mississippi. The Government loaned the Union Pacific railroad sixty millions to aid in building that road. The Government for thirty years has been loaning the national banks hundreds of millions at one-half of one per cent. interest. This was all constitutional. Whenever there is a will there will be found a way to help the mortgage-ridden people. Suppose we increase the volume of money to ten per cent. on the value of property of the country as shown by the last census. Will any one say that money based on ten times its volume in property would not be safe. This would be $6,200,000,000. With this issue of money every idle man and woman would then find employment at good wages. The prices of agricultural productions would also increase, enabling the people to pay their debts. Then abolish debts or the power to contract them, and interest. Devise some plan by which the Government can loan money directly to the people at a nominal rate of interest to pay this great mortgage debt. For instance, the mortgage debt of Kansas, including chattel mortgages, is over $200,000,000; this at seven per cent. requires $14,000,000 a year that goes out of our state to pay interest. In thirty-six years this will be $420,000,000. Suppose the Government should assume this mortgage debt as it becomes due; issue for this purpose legal-tender treasury notes, loan them to the people at one per cent.; the Government would then receive in interest at one per cent. $2,000,000 a year, or $60,000,000 in thirty years. The people of Kansas would save $12,000,000 a year, or $360,000,000 in thirty years. This would be not only saved to the state, but each family could add that much annually to their comfort and happiness. I believe with $500,000,000 increased volume of money this could be done. If the Government should assume the whole $12,000,000,000 of mortgage debt of the whole country as it becomes due, it would probably require an issue of $3,000,000,000 of money, as it would be used over and over again. This would only increase the volume of money to $4,500,000,000, a little over seven per cent. on our wealth. If the average interest on this great mortgage debt is seven per cent., the people are now paying $840,000,000 a year in interest; this in thirty years would be $25,200,000,000, a sum almost equal to one-half the wealth of the country, a sum in excess of the entire taxable property of the country. This is why I say, with our present financial policy, it can never be paid. If the Government should assume this debt at one per cent., it would be $140,000,000 a year paid the Government; in thirty years, $4,200,000,000. The people would save $720,000,000 a year; this in thirty years would be $22,600,000,000. This money kept at home among the people would stimulate every industry; every idle man and woman would go to work, and civilization would take a step in advance. Of course the people must not be allowed to make new debts or new obligations. In fact, we must then abolish debts, with all laws for the collection of debts contracted in the future. Mortgages on the homes at least should be void. Abolish usury or interest. With this, selfishness would be of the past. Crime, insanity, and vice, induced by poverty, would disappear.

I have thus briefly suggested a remedy. If there is a better one, I am for it. Thanking you for your attention, I bid you good-night.

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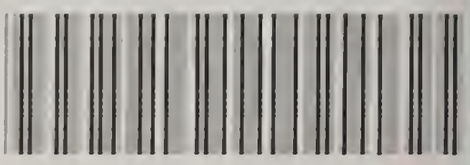
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